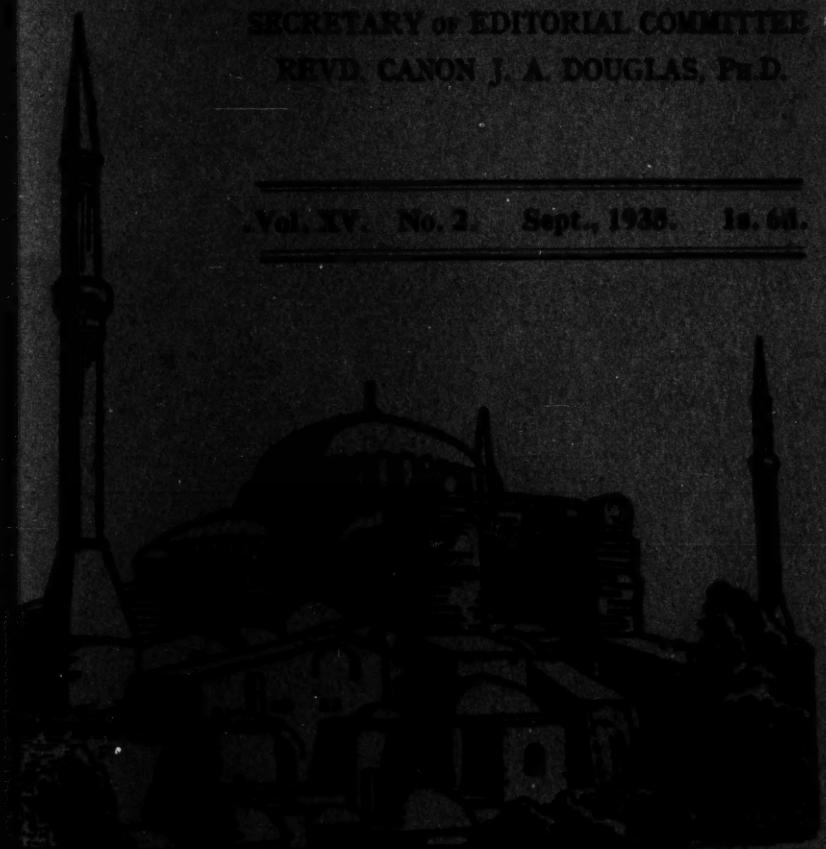
The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

SECRETARY OF EDITORIAL COMMITTEE
REVD. CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

Vol. XV. No. 2. Sept., 1935. 1s. 6d.



PUBLISHED FOR
THE ANGLICAN & EASTERN CHURCHES ASSOCN.
BY
THE FAITH PRESS, LTD.

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Ὁ Βοστρηνὸς ἐν Παλαιαχμᾷ ἀδὸν Θεοδοσίου
Μητροπολίτης Τοποτηρητὴς Πατριαρχείου Ἱεροσολύμων
1933

THE MOST REVEREND THE METROPOLITAN KELADION OF PTOLEMAI THE RECENT TOPOTERETES OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM.

SEPTEMBER, 1935.] [VOL. XV. NO. 2.

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

WE held up this issue of *The Christian East* in the expectation that the Holy Synod of Rumania would have considered the Report of the Conference held between its Commission experts and the Church of England Delegation which conferred with it in Bucarest last May and that we might have published in it that Report, and whatever decisions upon it the Rumanian Synod might have taken. But as it has happened the meeting of the Rumanian Synod has been deferred until the beginning of November. Accordingly we produce our present number as an interim issue.

All being well our next number will follow hot-foot, and another upon it before the end of the year. So that, if not on the four quarter days, the friends of *The Christian East* will have received four issues of it and—as we are confident that they will agree—their money's value in 1935.

THE DEATH OF THE PATRIARCH MELETIOS OF ALEXANDRIA.

Those of us who were devoted and loyal to the Patriarch Meletios as a Christian Paladin, and especially those of us who knew him in intimacy and loved him as a great friend, learnt with intense sorrow of what we must regard as his premature death—he was only sixty-four—at Alexandria on Sunday, July 27th. If we say no more here and now, it is because one of us is writing a personal study of his life and work for *The Christian East*. A great figure has passed from Eastern Christendom. As the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote in his letter of condolence to the Topoteretes of the Alexandrian Patriarchate, his loss is the loss of the Anglican Communion, and every great international Christian Movement shares that loss. R.I.P.

THE VACANCY OF THE ALEXANDRIAN PATRIARCHATE.

The Patriarch Meletios was elected in 1927 under the same electoral law under which the Patriarch Photios had been elected in 1898 and which was then so obsolete as to be incapable of application in the letter. Like their cousins of Palestine the Syrian Arabophones of the Patriarchate used that fact as a lever to demand more power. Lord Lloyd's prompt action, however, induced King Fuad to overrule their objections. The election went through and the necessary

berat confirming it was issued. The first action of the Patriarch Meletios was to win the reasonable Arabophones by voluntary concessions. That done, he drafted a new electoral law which, having been enacted canonically by the Patriarchate, was presented for approval to King Fuad in 1929, but which, in spite of his efforts, Wafdist influences has remained without secular ratification up till the present. If Sir Miles Lampson does not obtain its prompt ratification, it is not impossible that the extreme Arabophones may reopen their controversy and that the vacancy may be protracted disastrously.

The Metropolitan Theophanes of Tripolis, who has been charged by the Holy Synod to act as Topoteretes of the Patriarchate, who is the doyen of its bishops, is of great personal charm and urbanity, and of ripe experience. The present writer has enjoyed his intimacy since 1904. He served as Topoteretes in the vacancy of 1925-27.

Canonical Election of a Patriarch of Jerusalem.

That the election of Archbishop Timotheos (Themelis) to the Patriarchal Throne of Jerusalem on July 22nd was canonical, there can be no manner of doubt. None the less, by entering an appeal against it to the Palestine Supreme Judicature, the Syrian Arabophone Orthodox of Palestine have blocked its receiving the assent of the Mandatory Power which is necessary before he can assume the temporalities of his office. The hearing of their appeal was down for October 3rd. As to its result and as to whether the Patriarchate has consented this time—we devoutly hope not—to recognise the authority of the Palestinian Judicature, we have as yet no information.

Meanwhile the Patriarch-Elect has received the warmest good wishes of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of his innumerable Anglican friends, whose ardent hope is that he may soon be free to repair the injury done to the Patriarchate by the disastrous paralysis of the vacancy which has lasted already for five years.

The burden of those five years has been heavy upon the Metropolitan Keladion of Ptolemais—his portrait forms our frontispiece this month—who from the death of the Patriarch Damianos until last spring, when his health compelled him to give place to the Metropolitan Meliton of Madeba, served as Topoteretes of the Patriarch. Kindly and gentle to everybody, he upheld the rights of the Patriarchate against the Arabophones, but is a *persona gratissima* to them as to all who know him.

The Russian Church.

The drawing together of the separated jurisdictions of the Russian Church in Exile continues to make progress. Thanks to the initiative of that devoted friend of Russia, the Serb Patriarch Varmava, the Metropolitan Evlogie is in increasingly intimate consultation with Archbishop Anastasy concerning the future.

Archbishop Anastasy has taken up residence in Belgrade as the Metropolitan Anthony's coadjutor and Vice-President of the Russian Council of Bishops, which is preparing to convene a General Council of the Russian Church in Exile next spring.

We rejoice that the Metropolitan Peter Krutitchky's internment in Siberia is over and he is now living near Moscow. But if the repressive hand of the Soviet is relaxed, the protests which have produced that relaxation must be sustained.

The Assyrians.

We rejoice that the Assyrians are to be settled in the Garb district of N.W. Syria, *i.e.*, in part of the Bible Lands, and are not to be exiled to Guiana or some other dumping-ground over the dark water. It is hoped that their move—from 30,000 to 40,000 are eager to leave Iraq—will be over by next summer. Then will come the possibility of the reorganisation of their Church life.

As we learn, the French Government will in due course be ready to consider favourably the welcoming the Assyrian Patriarch into Syria. But no good can come of raising that question until after his people are there. No attention should be paid to the mischievous busybodies who have been asserting that the French are afraid of Omar Shimun claiming temporal power in Syria.

A. & E.C.A. NOTES.

THE Seventy-first Anniversary of the Association will be celebrated on Wednesday, October 30th. Full details will be posted to members, and announced at the beginning of that month. Meanwhile please note the date and that the Liturgy will be sung in the Greek Cathedral at 10.30, and there will be a public meeting in the Small Hall of the Church House, Westminster, at 3.15.

THE SALE, NOV. 6TH AND 7TH

The Association will be one of the stallholders at the sale in aid of Church Work at Home and Abroad to be held in the Horticultural Hall, Vincent Square, Westminster, on the above two days. The Sale will be open on both days from 12 to 6 p.m. Our Anglican President, the Bishop of London, is to be present and to speak at 2.30 on the second day. *The A. and E.C.A. Stall is No.* 25, and it will be in charge of Mrs. French, Lady Meiklejohn and Countess Kapnist. It will be furnished mainly with ikons at all prices from a few shillings to a few pounds. Will members and friends of A. and E.C.A. please note these particulars and pay Stall 25 a visit? It will be worth it.

Report and Booklets, etc.

The Eleventh Report of the Association will be issued this October, and will be sent to all members. The price to non-members is 3d. The Report contains official information about the Society's organization and work, a record of its recent activities, photographs of the ikon presented by A. and E.C.A. to H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent on her marriage, and of the A. and E.C.A. Memorial to Bishop Collins in Malta Cathedral, and other interesting matter.

The publication of a number of booklets on the Orthodox Church in its various aspects, and the work of the A. and E.C.A., will begin in October. The booklets will be simple and popular, and will cost from 2d. to 6d. according to their size. They will be useful for Church Tract Cases, and to put into the hands of people who say, "I know nothing about the Eastern Church, but I should like to, what shall I read first?"

Q.I.P.

Can anything be done to stimulate the devotional side of the Association's work? We recognize that prayer is our most powerful agency. The Association has no specified *Rule* of Prayer, though all members are asked to pray for God's blessing and guidance for the work. We are perhaps wise to keep to that and leave it to the individual to decide when and how he fulfils his general obligation of prayer. But it has been suggested that a small leaflet of subjects for Intercession issued quarterly would be welcomed by many members of A. and E.C.A. and perhaps by others also. Of course the more people who took it in, the less it would cost, and with a reasonable number of subscribers it should not cost more than a few pence each. It would be some help to the Secretary in organizing this if those who are willing to support it by taking in one or more copies of the leaflet would write and let him know. His address is 1, Hilltop Road, London, N.W.6.

R.M.F.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

THE Service of Intercession held in St. Martin-in-the-Fields on Thursday, May 16th, " on behalf of our Christian Brethren in Russia, for their Liberation from Affliction and Danger of Death and for those Dispersed in Exile throughout the World," and organized by the Russian Church Aid Fund, was a conspicuous and notable event. The great congregation which crowded St. Martin's and which included men and women of the highest distinction in our public life, and the wide publicity which it attracted not only in the British Press but in that of the Continent and overseas, would alone have made it remarkable. In itself it was dignified, mystic and stirring to a degree. But the fact which invested it with singular significance to those of us who love Orthodox Holy Russia and her Church most dearly, was that because the Archbishop of Canterbury was to preside at it, the Metropolitan Evlogie had come from Paris, and Archbishop Anastasy had journeyed from Palestine to take part in it. Their presence was not only symbolic of the ties which unite the Anglican Communion with the Orthodox Communion as a whole and with the martyred Russian Church in particular, it was also a welcome and triumphant demonstration that if the Russian Church in Exile has been divided on certain matters of principle, all Orthodox Russians are in complete solidarity. Whatever may be the several jurisdictions, the Metropolitan Evlogie and his flock are in Sacramental Union with the Metropolitan Anthony, with Archbishop Anastasy, with the Bishops of the Council over whom they preside, and with the flock which looks to them. Against the Godless persecution of religion in Russia they present a common front. Among themselves, if they are not united in organization, they *are* one in brotherly love and in mystic communion.

For the purpose of record, we print the courageous and weighty pronouncement which the Archbishop of Canterbury took the occasion of the Service to deliver. As we are informed his words had no small effect upon those who hold power in Soviet Russia. The most important part of his Grace's Sermon was as follows :—

" More than fifteen years have passed since the first blows of a Godless tyranny fell upon the Church of Christ in Russia and aroused mingled sympathy and indignation among Christian people everywhere, and, indeed, among all who have faith in God and in human freedom. But there has been a danger lest the lapse of years should make our sympathy less intense and our prayers less fervent. And yet, although the first ferocity of the onslaught seems to be in some ways abating, the oppression and the suffering endured in patient silence still remain.

" We are met to-day to quicken our sympathy and to renew our prayers for these silent sufferers. If anything could move us so to do, it would be the presence here in our midst of the three Archbishops who represent the various jurisdictions through which the Holy Russian Orthodox Church is endeavouring to shepherd its exiled children and to keep them steadfast in faith and hope. They have come from Paris and from far Belgrade to make by their visible presence an appeal for our remembrance, our enduring remembrance, and to join their prayers with ours on behalf of their flocks and of the oppressed and broken Church in Russia.

" I desire, here and now, to recall to this ministry of prayer the Church of England which I represent, and, so far as I can, my fellow Christians in this country. I trust that, after this service, intercessions may be offered in many churches and chapels throughout the country on behalf of our Christian brethren in Russia for their liberation from affliction and danger of death and for the triumph of their Faith, and for those dispersed in exile throughout the world.

" Need I stress the reality of that suffering? Still there are thousands of bishops and priests in prison, or living in exile in the far recesses of Siberia, or condemned to the hardships of the dreary camp of Solovetski. Still those who remain, with all other ministers of religion, are deprived of all civic rights, and are made dependent for food and shelter upon the charity of their people. Still for multitudes of believers, to make any profession of their Faith is to run the risk of being deprived of work or maintenance. Still parents, who hold bravely to their own Faith, know that their children, if they are to be educated at all, must be educated in the contempt of religion. Only one-fifth of the churches, which once filled that religious land, remain open and those who love them are hard put to it to maintain them in their poverty and to resist the pressure of the local authorities which are often concerned to close them. Still, therefore, religion is proscribed, and those who have the courage to profess it are marked for manifold annoyances or oppression. Truly, we are bound to pray and to plead with our merciful God that He will stretch forth His hand of compassion and power to shield and protect them, and to give strength to their faith and courage to their hope.

" But you will note that you are asked to pray, not only for their liberation from affliction, but for the triumph of their faith. That is a prayer which is daily answered, for it is not only the suffering of our fellow Christians in Russia that moves us, but the heroic constancy which triumphs over it. It is here that we see light shining through the darkness. Once again the blood of the martyrs may prove to be the seed of the Church.

" The Holy Church of Russia is being purified as by fire. Stripped of all worldly power and possessions, set free from the contagion

which they once brought and are always liable to bring, it lives in the hearts of its people. It is fastened there by the very sufferings which they endure. The spirit of devotion, always deep in the Russian people, and especially the peasants, has arisen from its slumber. Deep is calling unto deep, and even if the response be hidden from the eyes of men, it has been seen by God, and through it, by His power, great things may yet be wrought.

* * * * *

"I have just heard from an eye-witness of the observance of this last Eastertide in Moscow, and I am told this :—

> 'Over half a million people attended the Easter and Easter Eve Services in and around the churches that remain open in Moscow. For the first time in many years (and I ask you to note this) I noticed many youths and young people in the congregations, and great fervour was everywhere shown. I attended an Easter festive gathering outside Moscow on the afternoon of Easter Day. I asked a smiling boy of fourteen why he was so happy, and he replied : "Aren't you a Christian ? Don't you know that Christ is risen ?" Such a conversation would have been impossible a year ago, or at any time during the past seventeen years since the Revolution.'

* * * * *

"There are even signs that among those who in the exciting dream of a new world, and perhaps sometimes with bitter memories of political persecution, when the Church was closely allied with the old régime of the State of Russia, even among those whose thought had been turned from the Christian Faith, some are turning back again in wistful longing. In the midst of the vaunted triumphs of science and plans for a new order of secular Society, some even of the eager youth of Russia are finding that there is something within them that remains unsatisfied, that ineradicable need of the human soul which, being made for God, can find its rest only in Him.

"So, if I may be allowed to borrow a thought from a great thinker and theologian of the Russian Church, 'Saul the persecutor may at least in some measure become Paul, the Christian.' The fervent if now misdirected idealism and disciplined enthusiasm of Russian youth may still be won for the Church of Christ. If it be true that there are signs of the strain being relieved, if we are right in seeing some significance in the words that have just been spoken in Russia by the main manipulator of the great machine, that there is a danger lest the human being should be lost in the soulless machine : if, even where it is least expected, eyes may be opened to the impoverishment of the human spirit, and if there are tokens not only of continued but of revived religious life in Russia—let us be thankful, but let all this be a further spur to our remembrance, to our prayers and to our offers

of practical help. Through The Russian Church Aid Fund, which has arranged this Service, and through other agencies, let us do our utmost to cheer the exiles and to succour such sufferers in Russia as we may be able to reach.

* * * * *

"We are met to-day, my friends, with the thrill of the Easter message still in our ears. We give our brethren the old Russian greeting: 'The Lord is risen.' May the Easter Faith strengthen their patience, and the Easter light quicken their hope. May the Church of Christ in Russia yet pass from the cross of its sufferings to a joyful resurrection!"

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND DELEGATION TO RUMANIA.

By Canon J. A. Douglas.

NOW that the Church of England Delegation has paid its visit to Bucarest, and pending the publication of the Report of the discussions which it held there, a summary of how it came to be invited may be useful.

As Archbishop Chrysostom has set forth very lucidly in his admirable Orthodox history of the investigation of the validity of Anglican Orders,[1] the Orthodox viewpoint has shifted whole continents since in the sixties the famous Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow told Canon Liddon that all he knew about the Anglican Church was derived through Roman Catholic channels.

In the seventies and eighties many Russians and some Greeks conceived the hope of founding an English Orthodox Church by proselytisation and an attempt to establish such a Church was actually set on foot and was not abandoned until the end of the century.[2]

It was thus in the nineties that the Russian Chaplain in Berlin, Maltzev, expressed the opinion that Anglican episcopal consecrations were probably on all fours with Lutheran episcopal installations, and that Rojdensky and other Russians were indisposed to treat their validity as an open question. And it was so that, though living on till last year and nearly completing his century, he came to accept

[1] *The Validity of Anglican Ordinations*, trans. by J. A. Douglas, Faith Press, 1933.

[2] J. Overbeck, an ex-Roman Catholic German who held a post as teacher at the R.A.M.C., Woolwich, and an Englishman named Hatherley, who had been ordained priest by the Metropolitan of Tenos and Syra when visiting England, were particularly active. Much light on the obscure history of their enterprise is thrown by a bundle of letters between herself and Overbeck, given me by Madame Olga Novikov, whose name as a friend of Mr. Gladstone is familiar to all students of that period. *Inter alia* that correspondence illustrates the determined efforts made to prejudice the Russian ecclesiastical authorities against an impartial investigation of Anglican Orders. The movement collapsed owing to its condemnation by the Œcumenical Patriarchate. But traces of it persisted even after the Great War. It would repay research.

them as indisputable, my friend Professor Zekho Rhosses of Athens, by refusing at Bonn in 1874 to concur with Dr. Döllinger's proposition that Anglican Ordinations are to be received as valid, threw a spanner into the movement for a common Old Catholic, Orthodox and Anglican front against the Vatican decrees of 1870.

Myself, I cannot find fault with the Orthodox theologians of that period for their reserve. Indeed, I have come to rejoice at it. And I am grateful to each and every of my Orthodox colleagues, Greek or Russian, Serb or Rumanian, who even to-day insist that before they pronounce Anglican Orders to be capable of acceptance from the Orthodox point of view they must be satisfied by complete, exhaustive and unequivocal investigation.

To be frank, if it were suggested that I have the least doubt as to the validity of Anglican Orders, my protest would be more than indignant. I have no such doubt. If one thing more than another makes me pessimistic as to the near return of the Papacy to Catholic Unity, it is the amazing fact that the Leo XIII's Bull Apostolicæ Curæ has not long since been relegated to the limbo in which the Donation of Constantine, the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and the *Unio haud vera* of Florence–Ferrara are forgotten. As I read them the documents already published prove that condemnation to have been an act of policy motived by the expectation that it would produce a secession of Anglo-Catholics. But its effect was the contrary of that which Cardinal Vaughan and his advisers expected. It was followed by no Anglican crop of conversions, but rather by an Anglican recoil from Rome. And it stirred the Orthodox to make independent investigation of the whole matter.

We are eager, very eager, for the acceptance of Anglican Ordinations by the Orthodox. And no false pride prevents us from courting that investigation. Why? Not because their favourable decision would strengthen our certainty of the validity of our Orders, but because it would bring the possibility of the Union and Intercommunion of the two Communions on to the horizon.

If a given Communion cannot accept the Orders of another Communion, it is plain not only that before entering into Communion with it it must require the reordination of the whole of its Sacred Ministry, but that it cannot regard its mystic, sacramental life as being of the same film as its own.

On the other hand, it follows that if a Communion can accept the validity of the Orders of another Communion, the mystic sacramental life of the two must be of the same film and that for their Intercommunion all that is necessary is the reconciliation of whatever dogmatic differences exist between them.

Accordingly, if after adequate investigation by their appropriate theological advisers, the canonical authorities of the whole Orthodox Communion decide that they can and should declare their acceptance

as valid of Anglican Orders, the door will be opened for the further enquiry as to whether complete dogmatic agreement can be reached between the Orthodox and Anglican Communions. And if that complete agreement can be affirmed, their Intercommunion will be established *ex sequitur*.

As I have observed above, Leo XIII's Bull stimulated Orthodox theologians to examine Anglican Orders for themselves. But a multitude of causes was lending strength to that urge. In particular British opinion had swung the full circle away from that unnatural championship of the Turkish Tyranny which, as Lord Salisbury declared in 1897, had led it in the Crimean War and at the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1876, to put its money on the wrong horse. In consequence the prejudice against all things British which so long as Great Britain had appeared to guarantee the Red Sultan, Abd-ul Hamid full security to order the massacre of his Christian subjects in reasonable discretion, had prevailed among all the Orthodox and especially among Russians.

Men such as W. J. Birkbeck, who had the friendship of the martyred Tsar Nicholas II, and whose love for Russia and her Church gave him no small influence, were instant that Russian theologians should scrap the literature provided them from Latin and Lutheran sources and should investigate Anglican Orders for themselves.

The first independent Orthodox study of Anglican Orders was published in 1897 by Professor A. Bulgakov of Kiev[1]—apart from its priority a notable document, if only because consciously or unconsciously the conditions for a final and favourable decision of the question laid down in it, have in substance been repeated by every subsequent investigator.

V. A. Sokolov's *An Enquiry into the Hierarchy of the Anglican Episcopal Church*[2] appeared at the same time, and though independent of it ran on the same lines and with much the same conclusion.

In 1903 my friend Dr. Chrestos Androutsos, afterwards of the University of Athens, then of the Œcumenical Patriarchate's Theological school of Halki,[3] published his *Validity of Anglican Ordinations*,[4] in which he expressed satisfaction with the evidence of the

[1] *The Question of Anglican Orders*, trans. by W. J. Birkbeck, S.P.C.K., 1899.

[2] For the crucial chapter see *Birkbeck and the Russian Church*, by Athelstan Riley, pp. 280-291, S.P.C.K., 1917.

[3] Prior to the Great War, Halki was a very notable institution. In 1904 Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia, the discoverer of the Didache and of the Second Epistle of St. Clement, was its Principal. He was succeeded in 1912 by Germanos, then titular Metropolitan of Seleukia, now of Thyatira. A very considerable percentage of the Greek Episcopate and higher clergy are among its alumni.

[4] Τὸ Κῦρος τῶν Ἀγγλικῶν χειροτονιῶν, the Press of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, 1903; a somewhat unreliable translation by Groves Campbell was published in 1909, by Messrs. Grant Richards. Androutsos produced this work as secretary of a Commission appointed by the Œcumenical Patriarchate to prepare a reply to an enquiry addressed to it in 1902 by the Bishop of Fond du Lac and other American Anglican clergy as to the Orthodox view of Anglican Orders.

unbroken historical succession of the Anglican Episcopate, but concluded that before the Orthodox Church could accept Anglicans in their Orders, the same conditions, amplified a little, laid down by Bulgakov, of whose monograph he was not aware, must be fulfilled.

The requirements of Bulgakov and of Androutsos were, indeed, such as anyone with a nodding acquaintance with Orthodox Theology might have forecast. Thus, to spatchcock here a reminiscence, Androutsos gave me a copy of his book, still hot from the printers, when we met for the first time on the steamer to Halki, in February, 1904. When I asked him what were the requisites which it laid down for the acceptance of Anglican Ordinations, he told me the same as he found in Roman Catholic, Nestorian, Monophysite and other "heterodox" Ordinations. I wrote down at once what I anticipated those requisites would be, and, though my sketch was a little more ample and exacting, it tallied with them.

The conditions for the Orthodox acceptance of Anglican Orders, as Androutsos defined them, are :

(*a*) The outward or canonical Apostolic Succession must be demonstrated to have been maintained unbroken.

(*b*) The inward or dogmatic succession must also have been maintained.

The former he held to be satisfied beyond doubt. In regard to the latter, he formulated these four questions, the answers to which he judged that our formularies and history left without conclusive certainty, and to which accordingly he invited authoritative replies :

(*a*) Does the Anglican Church hold that the Apostolic Episcopate is the supreme organ of the Church ? Are its dogmatic decisions incontrovertible for the faithful ? and are its canonical enactments binding *eo ipso* upon them ?

(*b*) Does it hold that in Holy Orders a *charisma* is given and received by the Laying-on of Hands with Prayer ?

(*c*) Does it hold that in the Eucharist the Bread and Wine become the Body and the Blood of the Lord ? and that in the Eucharist the Unbloody Sacrifice of Golgotha is offered for the whole Church, *sc.* both for the living and the dead ?

And (*d*) Does it teach that the priest has power and authority to absolve sinners ?

I cannot see how Androutsos or any other Orthodox theologian could have failed to put forward those requirements.

As I have intimated above, I had expected him to have put them forward. And as I told him, if our positions had been reversed, I should have asked him for authoritative answers to the same questions—and possibly I should have added others.

When I asked him whether his investigations had satisfied him personally and on the whole, having regard to each of those questions,

he replied that of necessity his investigations could not have been conclusive. His knowledge of English and his time were limited. What he was able to say was that in his judgment the Roman Catholic attack upon Anglican Orders broke down altogether, but that it rested with the Anglican Episcopate to remove all doubt by categoric declarations.

By 1920, through many causes, but above all through their intercourse with Anglicans during the Great War, a first-hand knowledge of the Anglican Communion had been gained by a large body of the Orthodox of all nationalities. Without exception those theologians among them who turned their attention to the question of the validity of Anglican Orders, were satisfied.

Some of them, indeed, such as the Serb, Father Nicolai Velimirovic, now Bishop of Ochrida, proceeded even to communicate at Anglican altars.

In 1920, my friend Professor Panteleimon Komnenos of Halki, who had succeeded his old colleague Androutsos as secretary of the Œcumenical Patriarchate's Commission on Anglican Relations, and who had come to London as the lay theological adviser of the Patriarchate's delegation to the Lambeth Conference of that year, suggested to me that if a large body of Anglican clergy conjoined in presenting a sufficient Declaration of Faith, dealing with Androutsos' four requisites, his Commission would certainly advise the Œcumenical Patriarch and his Synod to declare the acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Œcumenical Patriarchate and to invite the sister Orthodox autokephalous to do the same.

In 1921 such a Declaration of Faith[1] was prepared by the Theological Committee of the English Church Union, and having been signed by 3,165 English clergymen, was presented and forwarded to Constantinople. In the same year Komnenos published his *Anglican Ordinations*[2] as a report of his Commission. As the conclusion of that study Komnenos recommended the immediate acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Œcumenical Patriarchate. Also in view of precedents dating from the thirteenth century, he recommended the consideration of a measure of Economic Intercommunion with the Anglican Churches, *sc.* the mutual admission of members of the two Communions to sacramental ministrations under conditions of emergency, isolation and so forth. As I understood him, while maintaining that, on the precedents, the Œcumenical Patriarchate—or for that matter any other Orthodox autokephalous Church—

[1] The text is printed in G. K. A. Bell's *Documents on Christian Unity*, Humphrey Milford, 1924, and in my own *Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox*, pp. 90 *seq.*, Faith Press, 1921.

[2] Α' Ἀγγλικανικαὶ χειροτονίαι, Constantinople, 1921; for a translation see *The Christian East*, 1921, Vol. II, 3. The cost was defrayed by the Metropolitan Chrysostom of Smyrna, the Commission's Chairman, who was martyred eight months later with inconceivable sadism by the infamous Nur-ed-Din, during the holocaust of that city.

could rightly take the action which he recommended without the concurrence of its sister Orthodox autokephalous Churches, he was anxious that, where possible—the Soviet tyranny prevented even communication with the Russian Patriarchate—they should be consulted before action was taken.

I have never fully understood how it came about that in July, 1922, *i.e.*, about a year later, my American colleague, the Revd. Dr. W. C. Emhardt, when visiting Constantinople, was made the bearer of a letter to Archbishop Davidson, in which the Œcumenical Patriarch Meletios III informed his Grace that the Great Church of Constantinople had accepted Anglican Ordinations as on a parity with Roman Catholic, Nestorian and Monophysite Ordinations, *sc.* as valid by *Economy*.[1]

The Patriarch Meletios' tenure of the Œcumenical Patriarchate lasted less than three years, viz., from December, 1920, to November, 1923. When he was elected in December, 1920, the future seemed assured. The Treaty of Sèvres had brought the boundaries of Greece to the Marmora. The Allies were in occupation of Constantinople, the cession of which to Greece was not impossible, and the return of the Turks to which seemed out of the question. In his short occupation of the Orthodox primatial See, the Patriarch Meletios made history. Thus in the Pan-Orthodox Conference which he invited to assemble at the Phanar in 1922, the New Calendar was initiated and other reforms were considered, the scope of which were far-reaching. If the prospects of 1921 had been realized, he would certainly have convened the Orthodox Œcumenical Council which had been in mind since the Great War, and which would naturally have dealt with the question of Anglican Orders.

But by July, 1922, the shadow of the coming Greek *débacle* in Asia Minor was already visible. The holding of an Orthodox Œcumenical Council threatened to recede into the dim future. It is possible that, foreseeing that his days at the Phanar were numbered, the Patriarch Meletios determined to take action while he had time. At any rate he yielded to Dr. Emhardt's solicitation.

To use a term of to-day, multilateral action on the part of all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches may have been impossible at the moment.

In my judgment the Patriarch Meletios is a great Christian and a great man. We Anglicans have cause to be devoted to him for his devotion to us. If I venture to regret that he did not delay his announcement to Archbishop Davidson, I cannot forget the immeasurable debt which we owe him for his acceptance of the recommendation of Professor Komnenos' Commission and for his recognition of Anglican Orders. When the history of the Orthodox-Anglican

[1] Androutsos and other Greek theologians had declared that the Orthodox Church can recognize no sacrament outside itself as valid *per se*, and must give such recognition only provisionally or for practical purposes.

approach to Reunion comes to be written, no name will be more predominant than his.

But if—to use the present-day term—multilateral action on the part of all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches was for the moment impossible, I was sorry and gravely perturbed when on his arrival in August, 1922, in London, Dr. Emhardt showed me the letter which he had been impulsive to secure. If it would have been proper I would have prevented him delivering that letter to Archbishop Davidson.

Looking back, my impression then is reinforced abundantly. If Dr. Emhardt had not visited Constantinople, the Patriarch Meletios would have adhered to his first intention. The decision of the Constantinople Synod to recognize Anglican Orders would have remained a *littera scripta*, but it would not have been published until after it had been submitted to the authorities of the other Orthodox autokephalous Churches. Unless I misunderstood him, his All-Holiness hesitated at the time and afterwards came to regret that he had yielded to Dr. Emhardt's impetuosity.

If I may risk such an expression of opinion—and I have learnt to be temerarious in taking the words out of the mouths of my Orthodox friends—it seems to me that Komnenos proved his case to the hilt, when he submitted that on the precedents, any Orthodox autokephalous Church, and therefore above all the Œcumenical Patriarchate, would be within its right in accepting by Economy the Orders of an heterodox Church without consulting its sister autokephalous Churches. Thus the Russian Patriarchate decided in the seventeenth century to rebaptize Roman Catholics and Trinitarian Protestants, although the four ancient Orthodox Patriarchates accepted them in their Baptism. And in the eighteenth century, when the four ancient Patriarchates rebaptized them, it accepted them.

But right is not always wisdom, and there is an Economy in such matters.

The fact was that, while like most of his colleagues who investigated the matter scientifically, Komnenos had reached the position that the case for the acceptance of Anglican Orders is irrefragable from the Orthodox point of view, few of his colleagues in the other Orthodox centres had gone thoroughly into the question. Moreover, except the Œcumenical Patriarchate, no Orthodox autokephalous Church had examined Anglican Orders officially.

Put to the test of an emergency all the Orthodox nationalities would rally to the support of the Œcumenical Patriarchate. It is the historic pivot of the Orthodox World. As *primus inter pares*, the Œcumenical Patriarch's function of initiative and of presidency is unquestioned and wellnigh indispensable. But though as I think, unreasonably, there are those among the non-Greek Orthodox who are always on the alert to safeguard against the Œcumenical Patriarchate becoming a kind of Papacy.

That the Œcumenical Patriarchate should have taken so notable a step as to announce to Archbishop Davidson its acceptance of Anglican Orders by itself, without association with the heads of the other Orthodox autokephalous Churches, was sharply criticized, if only on the ground that its independent action came perilously near to a breach of the principle of Œcumenicity, *sc.* the principle that in important matters which touch the whole Orthodox Church the particular Orthodox autokephalous Churches should refrain from exercising their theoretical right of independent action, and that unless all concur no action should be taken.

In result only the Churches of Jerusalem and of Cyprus notified the Patriarch Meletios of their concurrence in his acceptance of Anglican Orders. And, so far as has been published, except the Church of Rumania, no Orthodox autokephalous Church sent a detailed reply to his encyclical.

The Serb Patriarchate let it be known—the peculiar devotion of the Serbs to their Russian brethren is very faithful—that they were indisposed to consider action until the Russian Patriarchate could take part in it. The Church of Greece held back, largely because its distinguished lay professoriate had not made an investigation of the matter, but also because—and especially since the Œcumenical Patriarchate and the Churches of Jerusalem and Cyprus are Greek—few possibilities could have been more undesirable than the prospect of all the Greek Churches being ranged in apparent opposition to the non-Greek Churches.[1] The reply which was sent by the Rumanian Patriarch in the name of his Synod, was dated January 10th, 1925. That is to say, its despatch was delayed for over two years. Apart from its special relevance for our Delegation, it is a principal document in the history of the Orthodox investigation of Anglican Orders.[2] As such it deserves very careful study.

After speaking with great appreciation of the Anglican Church, that reply proceeded as follows :—

> " But even if all this be so, we must still face the fact that the path which must be traversed before we attain the goal, where we ' may be one,' is neither short nor easy. It is just for that reason that the duty of promoting and of making easier the work of Reunion presses with the greater weight upon us all.
>
> " Further, we think it right to add that, while in no Church is the will to Union more strong than in the Anglican Church, the expression which it receives in that Church is different to that for

[1] Of the eleven, or counting the Georgian, the twelve Orthodox autokephalous Churches, five are Greek. But the total number of Greek Orthodox is less than the number of the flock either of the Rumanian Patriarchate or of the Serb Patriarchate.

[2] It is to be found *in extenso* in the Report on the Lambeth Conference made by Archbishop Nectarie to the Holy Synod of Rumania, a translation of which appeared in *The Christian East*, Spring, 1931, Vol. XII, No. 1.

which we usually look, namely, it is of the practical nature which is characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon.

" The Anglo-Saxon genius is not indifferent to the attraction of the theoretical, but it prefers theories to be wide and undefined. The fact that it thus differs much from us Orthodox imposes both upon us and upon them that before we proceed to a final pronouncement upon the validity or the non-validity of their Orders, a closer and more precised understanding should be reached between us and them.

" The idea of working to bring about the absorption of one Church by another is far from our mind. On the contrary, what we desire is to take time for mutual discussion in order that we may know them as they are and that they may know us as we are, and especially that by our reaching an understanding with them on certain matters, the close bonds which exist between us and them should be made still stronger.

" Thus it is obligatory both on us and on them that we and they should thus make easier the path of the mutual approach of our Churches to Union and should assist each other to remove the misunderstandings which at present impede it.

" In truth, *the* Church is not an invisible Church or *societas sanctorum*—a society of saints whom God alone knows. Rather, and above all, it is a visible Church, or *societas sacramentorum*, determined by unity of Faith and organized around a hierarchy in succession to the Apostles.

" Indubitably, certain of those requirements are presented in a measure by the Anglican Church.

" But if, in due course, it can be demonstrated that the hierarchy around which the Anglican Church is organized is of Apostolic origin, then one of the gravest obstacles to Re-union with it would be removed.

" After giving the most careful consideration to the conclusions which your All-Holiness has communicated to us in your Encyclical and after studying the doctrine of the official documents of the Anglican Church in regard to the Mystery[1] of Holy Orders, the Holy Synod of Rumania has divided its investigation of the question into two categories, (1) the historical and (2) the theological.

" (1) From the historical point of view, the case is most favourable and we are of opinion that, without making any concession whatever, there is nothing to prevent our recognition of the Validity of Anglican Ordinations.

" (2) A real difficulty arises, however, when we consider the question from the theological standpoint. Thus we must ask:

" Do Anglicans regard Holy Orders as a *Mysterion?* If we, in their 39 Articles, compare Article 25 with Article 36, in order to

[1] *Taina*, the Slav equivalent of the Greek *mysterion*.

discover their dogmatic conception of Holy Orders, we are left with a conception which is vague and undefined.

"We judge that our difficulty in recognizing Anglican Orders consists in that ambiguity and that, accordingly, the whole Orthodox Church should combine by stating that difficulty to help the Anglican Church to remove it by a clear explanation of its doctrine.

"In short, the mind of the Orthodox Rumanian Church upon the questions of an Orthodox recognition of Anglican Orders is as follows :—

"(1) We are convinced that, if we can proceed to the recognition of the Validity of Anglican Orders, one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the Union of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches will have been removed.

"(2) We desire Reunion with all our heart and are eager to remove any obstacle to it.

"(3) As touching the fact of the validity of the consecration of Archbishop Parker, we can perceive no difficulty in the way of Reunion.

"(4) On the other hand, in order that we may be able to pronounce positively that Anglican Orders are certainly valid, we need that of her own action the Anglican Church should make a precise statement as to what is her teaching in regard to the Holy Mysteries in general and as to Holy Orders in particular ; *sc., does she or does she not hold Holy Orders to be a Mystery ?*

"(5) It follows that the key to the solution of this question is in the hand of the Anglican Church. But we shall, indeed, account ourselves happy, if we are privileged to create the occasion and to provide the incentive for her using it.

"In communicating our mind upon this question to your All-Holiness, we are bold also to assure you of our certainty that if all the sister Orthodox Churches identify themselves with our proposal to invite her to state her doctrine in regard to the Holy Mysteries and especially in regard to Holy Orders, the Anglican Church will appreciate our great desire for Union with her and will be encouraged to take action to remove such obstacles as lie in its way."

In other words, the Rumanian Synod expressed its great desire to recognize Anglican Orders and by so doing to further the day of union between the Anglican and the Orthodox Communions. But it laid down that before it could do so, (*a*) the whole Orthodox Church must satisfy itself by Œcumenical action that the Anglican Church is in dogmatic agreement with the Orthodox Church as to the significance of the Christian Ministry in particular and as to the mystic life of the Church in general, and (*b*) that the Orthodox Church could rightly only be so satisfied by explicit declarations of the whole

Anglican Episcopate upon the same questions which had been formulated by Bulgakov and by Androutsos.

Myself I found those requirements not only altogether reasonable, but proper and necessary. It was true that they entailed the waiting for the assembly of the whole Anglican Episcopate in the Lambeth Conference of 1930. But if five years are long in an old man's life, they are as a day in the life of Christendom. Moreover the story of Ferrara-Florence and of its disastrous *Unio haud vera* is a warning that in matters of Reunion haste does not mean speed.

On the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury as President of the Lambeth Conference, addressed to the Œcumenical Patriarch as Bishop of the Orthodox primatial See, an official Delegation, consisting of duly accredited representatives of all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches—the Russian alone being again perforce excepted[1]—attended the Lambeth Conference of 1930.

Being attached by Archbishop Lang to that Delegation as its Anglican secretary, and having been honoured by something like intimacy with the Patriarch Meletios[2] for many years, and having been privileged with long standing friendship by others among the delegates, I was admitted to close contact with it in its deliberations. Obviously, the meetings which it was to have with the Committee upon Unity of the Lambeth Conference would afford it the opportunity of formulating, on behalf of the whole Orthodox Church and to the totality of the Anglican Episcopate, the essential questions concerning Anglican Orders which the Rumanian Church had indicated.

After the fullest consideration, however, it had been decided by those of us who had to arrange matters, that unless *sponte sua* the Orthodox Delegation raised it, the question of the acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Orthodox Church should not be on the agenda.

The Delegation had been invited and had been commissioned in order to demonstrate to the world and to intensify the cordial and intimate—or, as the Œcumenical Patriarch Basil[3] had gone out of

[1] In his invitation to the Œcumenical Patriarch, Archbishop Lang expressly requested that if delegates could not be sent from Russia, representatives of the Russian Church in Exile might attend. On account of its "schism" from the Greek Churches, the Church of Bulgaria received a separate invitation from his Grace. Its delegate, however, was admitted to take part in the work by the unanimous invitation of the Delegation.

[2] This article was written before his death. He had resigned the Œcumenical Throne in October, 1923, and after a period of retirement, during which he lived at Kephissia, near Athens, had been elected in 1927 Patriarch of Alexandria, as Meletios II, in succession to the Patriarch Photios, who had died suddenly at Geneva in 1925 when returning to Egypt after his participation in the Westminster Abbey Commemoration of the 16th Centenary of the Great Council of Nikæa and in the Stockholm World Conference on Life and Work.

[3] Gregory VII, who was elected on the resignation of Meletios III in 1923, died in 1925 and was succeeded by Constantine VI, who was at once expelled by the Turks. On his consequent resignation, the Metropolitan Basil of Nikæa accepted election very unwillingly to the dangerous office of Œcumenical Patriarch, and held it successfully until his death in 1929, when he was succeeded inevitably by the present Œcumenical Patriarch, the scholarly and wise Photios II.

his way to describe them, the fraternal relations which had been developed between the two Communions.

If, of its own initiative, the Delegation did not table the question of Anglican Orders, it was not for their hosts to press it. Also the time available for its discussions with the Lambeth Conference Committee upon Unity would be limited. Inadequate discussion of a matter of so great importance would be worse than useless. The Delegation was not plenipotentiary. It was not only that any agreements which might be reached could only be provisional and must be implemented by the canonical authorities of each and all of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches. If any dogmatic agreements were reached, the grounds on which they had been reached were certain to be examined meticulously by the theological professoriates at Athens and other Orthodox centres.

The function of the Orthodox theological professoriate, lay and clerical, is well known. A distinguished Athens lay theological professor once said to me, with a wink but not wholly in jest, "What has a bishop to do with theology? His function is to rule his diocese. Theology is *our* business."

Contrary to the usual precedents, the Delegation had no lay theological experts attached to it. That the Orthodox professoriates in general and that of Athens in particular would be disposed to accept as final an investigation conducted by the Delegation was improbable.

The decision, however, was not left to us. On his arrival in London I was instructed to inform the Patriarch Meletios that it was desired that the Orthodox Delegation should indicate what matters, if any, it desired to discuss with the Anglican Bishops, and to ask him to formulate them at a conference with our Archbishop's Eastern Churches[1] Committee to which the Delegation was invited. The Patriarch Meletios expressed himself as desirous to avoid raising major issues. But when the Delegation met to consider its procedure, the Rumanian delegate, Archbishop Nectarie of Czernautz, stated that he had been definitely instructed by the Patriarch and Synod of Rumania to raise the question of Anglican Orders and to ask for categoric statements from the Lambeth Conference upon the points formulated in the Rumanian Reply[2] of 1925 to the Œcumenical Patriarch. That left the Delegation no option, and at its meeting with the E.C.C. next day in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, it asked that the subject of its discussions should be the question of Anglican Orders, and that they should deal in particular with the authority and function of the Episcopate in the Church, with the sacramental character of Holy Orders and with the doctrine

[1] Appointed in 1920 by Lord Davidson and presided over during the whole of its existence by Bishop Charles Gore, this Committee was discharged on the formation in 1933 of the Archbishops' Council on Foreign Relations.

[2] See above p. 47.

of the Holy Eucharist. That request was passed on by Bishop Gore and in due course the *tesa romana*[1]—*sc.* the Rumanian thesis—became the *pièce de resistance* of the Delegation's discussions with the Committee on Unity of the Lambeth Conference for four full sessions.

Archbishop Nectarie records in his Report to the Patriarch and Synod of Rumania that in those discussions the Patriarch Meletios, as leader of the Delegation, naturally assumed the rôle of examiner. His questions were precise, almost sharp and always challenging. The Anglican bishops' answers were plain, unequivocal and exhaustive. If more time had been needed, it would have been given.

But after the fourth session the Delegation stated that it had no further questions to put and that being fully satisfied with the statements which it had received, it purposed to make a unanimous recommendation that the authorities of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches should declare their acceptance as valid of Anglican Ordinations. All that it desired further was that the *plenum* of the Lambeth Conference should formally implement the statements made to it.[2]

Myself, I was privileged to talk the matter over with the Patriarch Meletios and other members of the Delegation just before the meeting at which they decided to make that requirement, and took courage to point out that while I could not conceive the *plenum* of the Lambeth Conference failing to give that implementation, I saw grave reasons for doubting the expediency of its being asked to give it.

Of necessity the Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference are published *orbi et urbi*.

If the final decision of the whole Orthodox Church were delayed indefinitely, or if the authorities of one or more of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches did not implement the Delegation's recommendation, a very difficult situation would arise.

The Orthodox Church would have put its questions through the Delegation to the whole Anglican Communion in the persons of the totality of its Episcopate. The Anglican Communion would have answered those questions satisfactorily in the minds of the accredited delegates of the whole Orthodox Church. That fact would have been proclaimed to the world. That the Anglican Church should be kept waiting for the final decision of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches would not be conducive to the furtherance of the Orthodox-Anglican approach. It might even produce a serious setback such as the *raffroidissement* which followed the Bonn Conferences of the seventies.

[1] See Archbishop Nectarie's Report to the Patriarch and Synod of Rumania, trans. by myself in *The Christian East*, Spring, 1931, Vol. XII, No. 1, p. 17.

[2] They are embodied in the *résumé* of the discussions. See *Lambeth*, 1930, pp 138-140. S.P.C.K.

It was the case, indeed, that in 1930, arrangements were well in hand for the assembly of a Pan-Orthodox Pro-Synod at Mount Athos in 1931 or 1932. In the draft agenda which had been prepared for that Pro-Synod a prominent place had been assigned to Relations with the Anglican Communion. But apart from the likelihood that in its fidelity to the Russian Church the Serb Patriarchate would refuse in the end to participate in the Pro-Synod unless and until Russians could be present—which would mean indefinite delay—other considerations made me dubious as to the probability of the Pro-Synod assembling in the nearer future.

The risk of the Anglican Communion being kept as it were standing on the doormat was not attractive.

Certainly, Christian charity forbids a limit to the risks to be taken by Christian humility and long-suffering. But courage is not foolhardiness. Discretion must be exercised in the work of Reunion.

Accordingly, I urged the Orthodox Delegation not to press for the implementation of the Anglican bishops' statements by the *plenum* of the Lambeth Conference—even if the not doing so might result in the postponement of the final and favourable settlement of the question of Anglican Orders until all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches having pronounced that those statements were conclusive, the Lambeth Conference of 1940 authenticated them. In tendering that advice, I was assuredly dispassionate; for the acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Orthodox and the consequent opening of the door first to the dogmatic agreement of the two Communions and then to their full Intercommunion has been my *termi us ad quem*, and at my time of life ten years is a long while.

Everything having been weighed, however, the Delegation decided that the risk must be taken. The Rumanian Patriarch and his Synod had stipulated that the answers to their questions should be from the totality of the Anglican Episcopate and compliance must be made with that stipulation or the labour would have been wasted.

The *résumé* of the discussions between the Orthodox Delegation and the Committee of the Lambeth Conference on Unity was communicated, therefore, to the *plenum* of the Lambeth Conference, and its statements to the Delegation were duly and all but unanimously implemented as "sufficient."[1]

The position, therefore, from the Anglican point of view was that the whole Orthodox Church had put the case as every Orthodox theologian from Bulgakov and Androutsos to the Rumanian Patriarch and his Synod had stated it, to the totality of the Anglican Episcopate. The Anglican Episcopate had made its answer. And that fact that it had done so had been made public It remained for the whole Orthodox Church to give its final decision.

[1] See *Lambeth*, 1930, pp. 48-9, Resolution 38 (c).

If that decision were favourable, then the sooner the two Communions proceeded to discuss full dogmatic agreement the better. It would have been established that their mystic life was of the same film and all things would have become possible. In the remote improbability of the decision being unfavourable, the best must be made of a bad business. At least for the time being Intercommunion between the two Churches would have receded out of sight. But very close comity and amity between them might be sustained. The one thing which it was devoutly to be hoped might not ensue, was that the Orthodox Communion should, so to speak, keep the Anglican Communion waiting for its decision. In itself, an experience of that kind is not stimulating; but apart from that consideration, one of the great needs of the day is for Anglican and Orthodox solidarity.

That contingency, however, occurred.

My anxiety concerning the assembly of the projected Pan-Orthodox Pro-Synod was realized. The Turkish Government forbade the Œcumenical Patriarchate to take part in it. Since without its initiative and its presidency such a Pro-Synod could not be held, and since the need for its holding was paramount, the Œcumenical Patriarchate might have risked the defiance of the Turks and have gone on. But it was delivered from the choice between its Scylla and Charybdis. The Serb Patriarchate made it known that unless and until, among other requirements, the Church of Russia could take part in such a Pro-Synod, it could not bring itself to do so. In consequence the possibility of an Orthodox Pro-Synod dealing with the question of Anglican Orders receded out of the perspective. The only way which remained for the decision of that question was the way by which the Orthodox Church has been constrained to take action for many centuries, viz., by the concurrence reached through the individual decisions of the particular Orthodox autokephalous Churches.

Except the Patriarchate of Alexandria,[1] however, which formally notified the Œcumenical Patriarch of its acceptance of Anglican Orders, and in spite of an Encyclical from the Œcumenical Patriarch welcoming the accession to the Alexandrian Patriarchate as "an urgent incitement for the remaining Churches which have hitherto deferred a definite decision upon the matter, to take the same action," no Orthodox autokephalous Church took public notice of the Delegation's recommendation.

The fact seems to have been that in most cases the delegates

[1] For a translation of the Report made upon the Lambeth Conference to his Synod by the Patriarch Meletios see *The Christian East*, Winter, 1930-1, Vol. XI, No. 4. For the text of the Synod's resolution, see the letter of the Patriarch Meletios to the Œcumenical Patriarch, in *The Christian East*, Spring, 1931, Vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 1-4. The reply of the Œcumenical Patriarch and his Encyclical to the heads of the other Orthodox autokephalous Churches follow.

presented their reports to the Synods of their Churches, which the project of the Pro-Synod, still holding the field, passed them on to commission for consideration. After that project was abandoned, nothing was done.

As soon as the Lambeth Report was published, the Delegation was criticized very frankly and even with acerbity by members of the Greek Orthodox, and especially of the Athens, professoriate in their theological journals. Their criticisms were supported by some of their non-Greek colleagues. The Delegation being, of course, defended, a controversy arose and lasted more than a year.

Complete *procès-verbaux* recording every word spoken during the Delegation's discussions with the Committee on Unity of the Lambeth Conference, had been kept. I cannot think but that theologians so able as the Metropolitan Christophoros of Leontopolis and Professor Balanos, who led the criticism, would have been satisfied by them. But not having them at their disposal, they and others of their colleagues based their opinions on their own study of Anglican formularies.

" Sweeter are the stripes of a friend than the kisses of an enemy," says the Divine Proverb.

On the facts, we Anglicans would be entitled to complain at the failure of the authorities of the Antiochene, the Rumanian and the Serb Patriarchates, and of the Churches of Greece, Bulgaria and Poland to examine the recommendation of the Delegation and to pronounce upon it.

Myself, alike in correspondence and whenever either in the Near East or at home I have had opportunity, I have urged that the authorities of those Churches owed it to us to get on with that business.

However ready we may be to do everything and to submit to anything for the sake of Christian solidarity, we are bound to protest at the delay.

Savoir tout, c'est pardonner tout. We know that in the trying period through which the Orthodox Church is passing, concerted action on the part of its autokephalous Churches is not easy.

The Œcumenical Patriarchate has contrived to continue to exist, but is hindered from exercising its function of initiative. Through its blood-gilt martyrdom, the Russian Patriarchate is disorganized and powerless to take action of any kind. The other autokephalous Churches are chary of appearing to infringe on the principle of Œcumenicity by appearing to take independent initiative.

But in view of the urgency that the *impasse* should be ended, the Rumanian Patriarch and Synod decided that there was one thing which could be done and which should be done by them. It was at their instance that the Delegation had raised the question of Anglican Orders at Lambeth in 1930, and it was the *tesa romana* that had been

thrashed out there. If initiative was to be taken, they were the right people to take it. The criticisms of the Delegation could not be brushed aside. But the Orthodox Rumanian Orthodox professoriate could examine the whole question of Anglican Orders for itself thoroughly, scientifically and dispassionately.

When at Lambeth in 1931 for the first session of the Conjoint Anglican and Orthodox Commission[1] which had been set up in pursuit of the recommendation of the Delegation and of the Lambeth Conference Committee on Unity to carry on the work begun by them, Archbishop Nectarie had given an official invitation that the Archbishop of Canterbury should send a Ceremonial Delegation to visit Rumania for the promotion of Anglican friendship with the Orthodox Rumanian Church, which of all the Orthodox Churches had had least contacts with the Anglican Communion. Though the taking advantage of that invitation had been postponed, it had been welcomed gladly and had been accepted.

Such a visit would provide the occasion for a formal examination of the question of Anglican Orders by Rumanian theologians.

The idea was discussed in the first place with the Rumanian Patriarch's "vicar," Bishop Tit Semedria of Targovast, during a visit which he paid to London in July, 1934, and was arranged finally by the Bishop of Gibraltar when in Bucarest last autumn.

The Archbishop of Canterbury informed the Rumanian Patriarch of his willingness and his desire to send such a delegation. The Church of England Delegation, with the Archbishop of Dublin and Dr. Gavin of the Anglican American Church as assessors and with myself as Correspondent-Secretary, was designated. The Rumanian Patriarch apprised his Grace of the large and distinguished personnel of the Rumanian Commission appointed by his Synod to confer with it. The agenda and method of discussion were settled by correspondence. The agenda more than covered the *tesa romana* of 1939. The method was that two papers, the one by an Orthodox, the other by an Anglican, having been read upon each subject, unrestricted discussion upon it should follow until the Rumanians were exhausted.

[1] The reference of the Conjoint Commission was to compare the dogmatic tradition of the Anglican Communion with the dogmatic tradition of the Orthodox Communion. It was not to deal with the question of Anglican Orders, which it was assumed had been dealt with fully and finally by the Delegation in 1930, but, assuming that the Delegation's recommendation of their acceptance would be implemented by the whole Orthodox Church, it was to prepare the way for the consideration of full dogmatic agreement between the two Communions. Its first session took place at Lambeth in October, 1931, every Orthodox autokephalous Church, except the Russian and the Bulgarian, being officially represented. It examined and found a great measure of agreement upon the important question of the authority of Tradition and did other valuable work for the preparation of the terrain for further investigation, see its unanimous Report, S.P.C.K., 1931. When it met the expectation was that the Pro-Synod would assemble in May, 1932, at Mount Athos, and would deal finally with the question of Anglican Orders. Pending that final settlement it has not been desirable that it should hold a second session.

In due time our Delegation arrived at Bucarest and enjoyed the singular and gracious hospitality of the Rumanian Patriarch for ten days, during which the full programme of discussions was carried through.

Of the results of those discussions I can write nothing here and now, except that—as indeed our Rumanian colleagues informed their Press—they were highly satisfactory. Those results are embodied in a Report, agreed unanimously by both sides, which must remain confidential until it is released by the Patriarch of Rumania and the Archbishop of Canterbury, which will certainly not be until after it has been considered by the Rumanian Synod at its autumn session of this year.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE BALTIC

IT has been a common practice to deal with the several Baltic nations in a single phase, or to consider them as a unit. This is too great a simplification, as anyone will discover when he meets with three separate languages, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Esthonian, as well as with three independent States each dominated at the present time with the motive of self-sufficiency. There is a postal union between Esthonia and Latvia, and citizens of each country may visit the other without securing a visa, yet at this point free movement between the countries ceases. The trade barriers between these countries apply as they do between each of them and any country in the world. Yet there is a friendly feeling between these peoples, and one finds a tendency toward common practices in them, even in the development of the forms of Government and in their independent action in dealing with common problems.

There has been no formal union of the Orthodox Churches of these three countries. Soon after the Russian Revolution and the local wars of independence in 1919, the Orthodox Church in each country set up its autonomous existence. There was a proposal that the three churches, together with the Orthodox Church in Finland, form a province, but this proposal failed of realization when it became clear that none of them was agreeable to relinquishing any portion of its authority. This may have been for the best, as it has left each Church free to deal independently with its problems, without depending on correlated action of the other countries; while at the same time it has provided a basis in equality for each to turn to the other for advice or collaboration as its local situation demanded. Thus, while the proposal that the Orthodox Church in Esthonia and the Orthodox Church in Lithuania publish a joint

journal was not realized, it did prove possible for the Orthodox Church in Esthonia to send its candidates for orders to study in the Seminary of the Orthodox Church in Latvia, previous to the establishing of its own Seminary in 1933.

The Church in Esthonia has established its complete independence. The Church in Lithuania is still in obedience to the Patriarchate in Moscow. The Church in Latvia secured autokephalicity by resolution of the Moscow Synod of June 19th, 1921, although there is some question as to the interpretation of this decree. The chief feature which they have in common is their inheritance of a considerable Russian Orthodox national minority in the population, and also a considerable number of Russian-built shrines and even monasteries. This has given a Russian colouring to the Orthodox Churches of the three countries, in spite of a growing proportion of non-Russians. The liturgy is served in Esthonian, Latvian, or Lithuanian in the parishes so preferring; elsewhere the church Slavonic is used.

Beyond this general historical relationship to the Church in Russia carried down in the people, the churches, shrines and monasteries, and in the Russian theological tradition and practice, there is little ground for putting the three churches together. In fact, one may expect that the Orthodox Church in each country will assume an increasingly autonomous character, as in the several countries of South-Eastern Europe.

The Orthodox Church in Esthonia.

The Orthodox in Esthonia constitute 19% of the population. This proportion has been maintained up to the present time. In fact while the number of Orthodox has risen since 1922 from 208,000 to 212,000, the Lutherans, who constitute the bulk of the population, have slightly diminished in number. The same is true of the Roman Catholics, who have dropped from 2,534 in 1922 to 2,327 in 1934. It is of significance that the loss in the Lutheran population is locally accounted for by the increase in the number of those registering as without religion, and of those adhering to the free churches, which showed an increase of about 4,000 in the 12-year period.

The Orthodox consist in almost equal proportion of Russians, that is the Russian minority, and of Esthonians. The President of the Republic, or as he is called, the Head of the State, Mr. Paets, is Orthodox. The Orthodox parishes are found mainly in the sections bordering on Russia, viz., in the Narva, and Petseri regions; yet there are several large Orthodox churches in Tallinn and in Tartu, as well as a few scattered in the centre of the country.

The Church in Esthonia is divided into the dioceses of Tallinn and Narva. By an arrangement peculiar to the Esthonian situation, the Bishop of Tallinn has in his care the Esthonian-speaking parishes,

regardless of their geographic location in the country, and the Bishop of Narva the Russian-speaking parishes. The present Prior of the fifteenth-century Pskovo-Petseri Monastery, Nikolai, was formerly bishop of Narva, but is no longer in charge of any diocese. Bishop John, until 1932 Prior of the Petseri Monastery, was offered the Narva diocese, but declined, so it is temporarily administered by Archbishop Alexander, who holds the title of Metropolitan of Tallinn and All-Esthonia. The Metropolitan is a very able administrator, well liked by both Russians and Esthonians among the faithful, and he is handling well the relations with the other Christian bodies in the State. Up to a few years ago, there was no lack of clergy, and at best the number of new priests required will not be great, considering the small number of parishes. There is an Orthodox Theological Faculty at the State University at Tartu, where the Rev. V. Martinson is the principal professor. At the present time there are half a dozen students in residence. Two splendid young men were graduated in 1934, and one of them, the Rev. Rostislav Lozinsky, was assigned to an important parish in Narva, upon the death of the previous incumbent. Theological training of simpler character has been provided by sending a number of men to the Riga Seminary. Special mention should be made of the Rev. Alexander Kisselev, who returned to Esthonia in 1933, and upon ordination was assigned to the parish whose church is in the old fortress in Narva. I have stayed in the home of Father Alexander and have come to know personally of his extraordinary influence, not only in the city, but throughout the countryside, where he is constantly travelling by horse and foot to pay pastoral calls. In 1933, it was decided to set up a two-year pastoral course, with Bishop Nikolai in charge, in the Petersky Monastery. Instruction here, as in the University, is given in the Esthonian language. This course is being completed this spring by about 20 men, who will be ordained as parishes require. It is not intended to continue this course, or to open another, until church life demands it. This seems to be a wise plan, for the University will continue to provide a small number of highly qualified priests for city parishes, and the villages will be supplied with men already trained in Riga or Petseri.

It must be borne in mind that the Orthodox, whether Esthonian or Russian minority, live for the most part in the villages, and in very backward villages at that. While one meets with conventional examples of the Orthodox Church set in the midst of neatly trimmed log houses, with bare-foot children, playing in the streets, or tending the cattle in the meadows, quite reminding one of classical pictures of village life—there is also the picture of the same village on a winter or spring night, dark, damp, with almost impassable roads, the men gathering to drink or play, frequently brawling and occasionally resorting to serious fights. Furthermore, there is the constant infil-

trating of the antireligious message from across the border, scarcely more than walking distance away, and the even more impressive and ubiquitous influence of the radio, daily and hourly spreading in thousands of village homes the temper, attitude and active propaganda of Godless forces in a language which is their own. The Church in Esthonia has to fight against the worst forms of sin in the daily round of life, and in addition has to meet the insidious and very tempting appeals of atheistic doctrines, coming in a far more concentrated and practical form than can be noticed in Western Europe. Fortunately, there are active forces which have been released by the demands of this situation, and the Metropolitan and even the Government have been wise enough to recognize and support new undertakings. The first to be mentioned is the work of the lay organizations among youth in the Orthodox Church—the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A. and the Russian Student Christian Movement. While the first two began constructive work with youth as early as 1920, it was not until the organization known as the Russian Student Christian Movement began a serious development of its work in 1928 that the Orthodox Church as such became conscious of the vast aid that could come to it through the activities of the laity, who had found a new release for their energy in the service of the Church. At the present time, the R.S.C.M. in Esthonia is working not only with students, but with adults, with middle school pupils, and even with small children. In Tallinn there are 90 middle school pupils who not only have club work during the winter, but a conference and a camp during the summer, and there are also 200 small children in Sunday schools in the city and suburbs. In Narva there are 60 middle school pupils and a hundred of the little folk. Other groups are to be found in Tartu, Petseri and Valk. The work of the Movement is done by volunteers, with the exception of one secretary, Mr. Ivan Lagovsky, who has been temporarily assigned to Esthonia by the Movement centre in Paris.

An entirely new form of service has been developed during the past year in the organization of a Young Farmers' Christian Union, as a counterpart to the Student Movement, and essentially forming a part of the same undertaking. This Union has now been registered by the authorities, and has several units at work in both Narva and Petseri regions. The members say that their task is that of "constructing life." They, as well as the middle school pupils in the cities, have caught from the Movement the idea that the Christian life must be lived much more within the life of the Church and must reflect the truths found in the Church. When I met with a group of these young peasants in Petseri, I found them lively young men, some of them already running their own farms, and consequently feeling the responsibility of improving community life. They are caught up in an endeavour to reconstruct their own lives, and per-

haps the social life of their respective communities, so as to do away with the sinful habits which now dominate, and instead to construct a healthier and a more moral state of things. The leaders of this Movement are Father Alexander Kisselev and Mr. Nicholas Penkin, the latter a country schoolteacher.

There are two principal monastic centres in Esthonia. One is for men in the splendid old monastery at Petseri, and one for women at the Pühtitzi convent. Monastic life is not now in the ascendant in the Church in Esthonia, although its influence is by no means dead, and both Petseri and Pühtitzi have wide attraction as shrines of pilgrimage, and as centres of spiritual influence.

The relations between the Orthodox and the Lutherans are very good. In fact, the Lutherans, through a society headed by Dr. Schabert in Riga, support a splendid Orthodox home missionary worker who is doing extraordinarily valuable work along the Russian border. There have been two conferences of Lutheran and Orthodox clergy in Esthonia. The mornings were spent in Bible study and discussion of doctrinal matters, and the afternoons were devoted to dealing with practical problems of home mission and Evangelism. The Orthodox will take part in the Conference of the Life and Work Movement to be held in Tallinn in the summer of this year.

The Church in Latvia.

According to the records of 1930, there were 225,000 composing the Russian national minority in Latvia, of whom 90,000 belong to the Old Believers (Russian schismatics dating from the seventeenth century). About 60,000 of the Russian minority live in Riga, principally in what is called the Latgales suburb. The other large concentration of the Russian minority is in Dvinsk. The Old Believers live in both these cities and very largely in the villages running out to the Russian border. The Orthodox Church in Latvia is made up of about 104,000 Russians and about 51,000 Latvians, and 13,000 belong to other nationalities. Latvia is farther removed from the centre of Russia, which is probably one of the reasons why the Orthodox Church did not gain so many adherents proportionally as in Esthonia. The Orthodox in Latvia constitute only 10% of the population, as against 19% in Esthonia. The predominance of Russians in the Church has even more strongly marked it as a minority Church, and this was further emphasized by the fact that the late Archbishop Ioann, as a deputy in the Seim, was generally considered a representative of the Russian national minority, although he was of Latvian nationality himself.

In general the situation of the Orthodox Church in Latvia has been less clearly defined, and its development has been less marked than that of the Church in Esthonia. At the present moment its

position is particularly unhappy, following the assassination of the Archbishop in October, 1934, under mysterious circumstances, and the absence of another Bishop in the country to take his place.

The Church is at present administered by the Holy Synod in Riga, which is engaged in clearing up the several quarrels which had arisen before the death of the Archbishop and in endeavouring to select a new Bishop. This is a difficult task, as candidates are limited by the ancient custom that the bishop must come from the monastic clergy, and the modern requirement that he be of Latvian origin. There are two candidates at this writing, the Revd. John Janson, Dean of the Riga Cathedral, and Father Augustin Petterson of Dvinsk neither of them in monastic orders. The latter, however, is a widower, so could be expected to take the vows. Father Janson could, of course, be asked to carry the administrative functions of the bishop's office pending the appearance of a fully qualified candidate. He is highly respected in Latvia, and is Rector of the Seminary as well as member of the Synod. For many years he has been a member of the Anglican and Eastern Church Association ; in fact, he helped arrange the lectures of Father Pullan and Dr. W. H. Frere when they went to Russia before the War. It is of course possible that they will disregard the custom of electing only monks, a position that was favoured at the 1918 Sobor in Moscow. It is a question as to whether consecration could be secured for one who is married, and hardly from either the Œcumenical Patriarch or the Patriarch of Serbia, to one of whom the request for consecration will probably be made.

This situation naturally has a reaction on the life of the Church. To this must be added the continuation of the state of martial law which was instituted in 1934. The Government has recently expressed its strong desire to have the Orthodox, as well as the Lutheran, communities, exert their influence for the moral upbuilding of the youth of the nation, but at the same time the conditions of martial law and other special prohibitions make it exceedingly difficult to do any organized work of voluntary nature. The Russian Student Christian Movement, along with a number of other organizations, has been closed, and the tendency is still to limit the number and range of activity of organizations, especially of youth.

The Orthodox Church of Latvia has maintained the old Seminary in Riga and it is now under the capable direction of the Rev. John Janson. Instruction is given mainly in the Latvian language. Several students from Latvia, as well as from Esthonia, have been studying in the Russian Orthodox Theological Academy in Paris, and some have now returned to serve as priests.

Monastic life in Latvia is practically non-existent. The conditions obtaining in the villages, as well as in the Latgales suburb, are not greatly different from those in the villages in Esthonia, and the

Church has on its hands a tremendous problem in raising the cultural and moral, as well as spiritual level of the faithful. It is to be hoped that a wise and capable Bishop may be found, and that the lay forces within the Church may again be released to collaborate with the Bishop and clergy in the task of rehabilitating the Church in this Country.

The Orthodox Church in Lithuania.

Lithuania was still farther removed from Moscow and St. Petersburg, as the centres of the life of the Orthodox Church in the old Empire. The result was a smaller influence on the population. Furthermore, the Lithuanians are largely Roman Catholics, and there has been an historic antipathy for six centuries between Lithuanians and the Russians on the matter of Church obedience. At the present time, therefore, the Orthodox Church in Lithuania consists almost entirely of the Russian national minority, a very small number altogether. There are 31 parishes. The head of the Church is the Most Revd. Elevthery, Metropolitan of Kovno. He is in obedience to the Patriarchate in Moscow, and continues there to bear the title of Metropolitan of Wilno and Lithuania. He is greatly beloved by his people, and I found on my visit there this spring, as on previous visits, that there is a most happy relationship between all the faithful, including both the clergy and the laity. The Orthodox Cathedral in Kovno was taken from the Orthodox and turned over to the Roman Catholic Bishop, so that the only Orthodox Church in the city was a small cemetery chapel. A new church has now been erected, but it has not yet been finished. The structure is complete, and it remains only to put in the floor and to erect the ikonostasis brought from the old Cathedral. It is hoped that funds for this purpose may soon be received.

For such a small diocese there is not need for a permanent theological school. The Metropolitan has in his jurisdiction, however, the several Russian Orthodox parishes in Western Europe which have continued their obedience to the Moscow Patriarchate. In these parishes there are serving a number of priests who were trained at the Russian Orthodox Theological Academy in Paris, and at the present moment there is a student from the Orthodox Church in Lithuania, studying at the Academy.

Aside from the ordinary human temptations and problems, which are perhaps a little less marked among the Orthodox in Lithuania than in the Orthodox populations of Latvia and Esthonia, there is here the peculiar problem arising because of the dominant position of the Roman-Catholic church in the country. There have recently been special efforts at the establishing of Roman parishes using the Eastern rite. There has been less of this sort of effort in the other two countries.

Conclusion.

While the Orthodox Churches in Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania do not comprise a great number of faithful, still it is to be borne in mind that each in its own country, and particularly in Esthonia and Latvia, has a very considerable rôle to play. Among the Orthodox faithful there are men in high position, both in the Government, in business and in education, and in the country the Orthodox constitute a very considerable proportion of the population. It can hardly be expected that these Churches, which have just found themselves, should soon take a large part in the realm of relations with the non-Orthodox Churches in other countries. Nevertheless, it must be noted that in the Church in Esthonia, not only the Metropolitan, but many others are keenly interested in Œcumenical questions and their friendship with the Anglican Communion has already been expressed to Anglican Bishops and others who have visited these countries. It would be well to pay particular attention to developing these friendly relationships in the future.

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Paris, May, 1935.